

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /082 W  
-----102609 081256Z /42

R 081125Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9660  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 11320

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV PINT HU GW  
SUBJECT: KADAR VISIT TO BONN

REFS: (A) BUDAPEST 2196; (B) BUDAPEST 2175;  
(C) STATE 155136 (ALL NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE GERMANS FOUND KADAR A LIVELY AND  
FORTHCOMING CONVERSATION PARTNER, AND SENIOR OFFICIALS  
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HAVE EXPRESSED TO ME THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THE TALKS  
IN BONN. IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHANCELLOR, KADAR  
CRITICIZED THE US APPROACH TO SALT AND TO HUMAN RIGHTS,  
BUT THE GERMANS FOUND HIM GENERALLY RELAXED ON THE  
STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BELIEVING THAT IDEOLOGICAL  
DIFFERENCES SHOULD NOT HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD  
RELATIONS. THE ONLY REFERENCE WE HAVE HAD SO FAR TO

KADAR'S VIEWS ON EUROCOMMUNISM WAS AN INDIRECT ADMISSION TO SCHMIDT THAT HE DID NOT AGREE ON ALL THINGS WITH BERLINGUER. KADAR CLAIMED NOT TO BE BOTHERED WITH INTERNAL DISSIDENCE, AND HE ADMITTED THAT HIS AUDIENCE WITH THE POPE HAD BEEN HELPFUL TO HIM IN HIS DEALINGS WITH HUNGARIAN CATHOLICS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRELIMINARY BRIEFINGS INDICATE THAT FRG OFFICIALS WERE QUITE PLEASED WITH THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH KADAR DURING HIS JULY 4-7 VISIT TO BONN. WISCHNEWSKI, MINISTER OF STATE IN THE CHANCELLERY, TOLD ME JULY 5 THAT THE GERMANS ATTACHED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE TALKS WITH KADAR, WHOM THEY CONSIDERED A "WISE MAN" WHO HAD DONE WELL IN HUNGARY. STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL, WHO ATTENDED THE KADAR-SCHMIDT MEETING ON JULY 5, CONFIRMED AT A LUNCHEON ON JULY 6 THAT THE MEETING HAD GONE VERY WELL AND THAT THE TWO HAD HAD FRANK DISCUSSIONS ABOUT A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS.

2. IN MY OWN CONVERSATION WITH KADAR AT THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION IN HIS HONOR, I EXPRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND TO CONTINUING THE PROCESS AT BELGRADE. KADAR AGREED FULLY, STRESSING THAT THE HUNGARIANS WISHED TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN CSCE. HE SAID NOTHING TO ME ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS  
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ISSUE. ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, HOWEVER, IN HIS MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT KADAR WAS CRITICAL OF THE US FOR THE "DIFFICULTIES" IT WAS CREATING IN THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, MENTIONING BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS AND SALT IN THIS REGARD. VAN WELL DID NOT ELABORATE ON WHAT KADAR HAD SAID ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. AS FOR SALT, KADAR SAID THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK BUT THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD WANTED TO CHANGE EVERYTHING, THUS CREATING PROBLEMS.

3. SO FAR WE HAVE NOT LEARNED WHETHER THE GERMANS OBTAINED ANY ENLIGHTENMENT ON THE QUESTION OF KADAR'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS EUROCOMMUNISM (REF C). THE CHANCELLOR APPARENTLY TRIED TO BROACH THE QUESTION INDIRECTLY, IN THAT, ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, HE ASKED KADAR ABOUT HIS ROME VISIT AND, SPECIFICALLY, WHETHER HE HAD ANY DIFFERENCES WITH BERLINGUER. KADAR RESPONDED SOMEWHAT ELLIPTICALLY: "WELL, MR. SCHMIDT, I MEET AND TALK WITH YOU. WE AGREE ON SOME THINGS AND NOT ON OTHERS. IT IS THE SAME WITH MR. BERLINGUER."

4. SCHMIDT ALSO INQUIRED ABOUT KADAR'S AUDIENCE WITH

THE POPE, WHICH KADAR PORTRAYED AS BEING "QUITE NATURAL": HE HAD BEEN INVITED TO ROME BY ANDREOTTI, AND WHEN IN ROME ONE MUST CALL ON THE POPE. THERE WERE NO PARTICULAR PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO RELIGIOUS MATTERS, KADAR ELABORATED, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE MINDSZENTY CASE HAD BEEN RESOLVED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE VATICAN -- WHICH KADAR APPRECIATED VERY MUCH. IN THIS CONNECTION, KADAR IMPLIED THAT HIS AUDIENCE HAD EASED ONE DOMESTIC DIFFICULTY, IN THAT IT RESOLVED THE DILEMMA FOR THOSE HUNGARIANS WHO HAD EARLIER PERCEIVED A DICHOTOMY BETWEEN SUPPORTING THE REGIME AND BEING CATHOLIC.

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5. VAN WELL SAID THAT SCHMIDT HAD INQUIRED ABOUT DISSIDENCE IN HUNGARY AND HAD BEEN ASSURED THAT THIS WAS NOT A PROBLEM: THERE WERE NO DISSIDENTS. KADAR RELATED THAT, WHEN HE WAS ASKED WHETHER HUNGARIAN

INTELLECTUALS COULD BE PERMITTED TO SIGN A LETTER  
SUPPORTING THE CZECH SIGNERS OF CHARTER 77, HE REPLIED  
THAT THE SIGNATURES MADE LITTLE DIFFERENCE AND THAT IT  
WAS BETTER NOT TO CREATE MARTYRS. SOME 30 INTELLECTUALS  
SIGNED, AND THERE WAS NO FUSS OR PUBLIC OUTCRY.  
(COMMENT: THIS BEARS OUT EMBASSY BUDAPEST'S  
REPORT -- BUDAPEST 246 -- THAT LOCAL INTELLECTUAL  
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CIRCLES WERE BETTING THAT NOTHING WOULD HAPPEN TO THE  
HUNGARIANS WHO SIGNED THE JANUARY LETTER.)

6. KADAR ALSO TOLD SCHMIDT THAT HUNGARIANS WERE FREE  
TO TRAVEL TO THE WEST. WHILE SHORTAGES OF FOREIGN  
CURRENCY MEANT THAT AN INDIVIDUAL COULD TRAVEL ABROAD  
ONLY ONCE EVERY TWO OR THREE YEARS, THERE WERE NO  
POLITICAL PROBLEMS. WHEN SCHMIDT COMMENTED THAT KADAR  
SHOULD TELL THAT TO HONECKER, KADAR SAID HE WOULD NOT  
MIND DOING SO AS THIS WAS THE SITUATION WHICH SHOULD  
OBTAIN. SCHMIDT ADDED THAT KADAR SHOULD ALSO TELL  
HONECKER THAT IT WAS HIS BELIEF THAT, IF GREAT NUMBERS  
OF EAST GERMANS WERE PERMITTED TO COME TO THE FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC, 90 PERCENT OF THEM WOULD RETURN TO THE GDR.  
KADAR REPORTEDLY FULLY AGREED, NOTING THAT THAT HAD BEEN  
HIS EXPERIENCE WITH HUNGARIANS.

7. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES WERE  
ALSO DISCUSSED DURING THE VISIT, WITH SLIGHT NUANCES OF  
DIFFERENCE IN KADAR'S VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT AS RELATED TO  
ME BY WISCHNEWSKI AND VAN WELL. WISCHNEWSKI RECOUNTED  
A CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH KADAR IN WHICH THE LATTER  
SAID HE FAVORED COEXISTENCE IN IDEOLOGICAL AS WELL AS  
POLITICAL MATTERS. WHEN WISCHNEWSKI COMMENTED THAT  
THIS VIEWPOINT WAS NOT ALWAYS REFLECTED IN OFFICIAL  
STATEMENTS FROM THE EAST, KADAR CLAIMED THAT THE  
EMPHASIS ON "NO IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE" WAS PRIMARILY  
THE CONCERN OF ACADEMICS AND PROFESSORS AND THAT "WE  
PRAGMATIC POLITICIANS" LOOKED AT THE MATTER DIFFERENTLY.

8. ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, THE CHANCELLOR DEFENDED  
WESTERN CRITICISMS OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES BY STATING  
IN STRONG TERMS THAT, IN THE PAST, THE LATTER HAD  
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CONSISTENTLY ATTACKED THE WEST BUT THAT THE WEST HAD  
BEEN RELUCTANT TO HIT BACK. THIS WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH

GOOD RELATIONS, AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES NOW INTENDED TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS CLEARLY. KADAR EXPRESSED NO DISAGREEMENT, COMMENTING THAT IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTES WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE, BUT THAT THIS SHOULD NOT PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD RELATIONS.

9. VAN WELL ATTACHED SOME SIGNIFICANCE TO A COMMENT BY KADAR CONCERNING TITO. IN RESPONSE TO AN OBSERVATION BY THE CHANCELLOR THAT HE HAD RECENTLY HAD GOOD TALKS WITH TWO OF KADAR'S NEIGHBORS -- TITO AND KREISKY -- KADAR CALLED TITO A REMARKABLE MAN; ALTHOUGH HE WAS AGING, HE HOPED THAT HE WOULD REMAIN ACTIVE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND THAT, WHEN HE WENT, "THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN YUGOSLAVIA'S POSITION." AS FOR KREISKY, KADAR SAID HE KNEW HIM AS A VERY INDEPENDENT MAN AND POLITICIAN -- ONE VERY ACTIVE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD WHOM HE CONSIDERED "FRIENDLY."

10. VAN WELL'S OVER-ALL IMPRESSION WAS THAT KADAR WAS AN ASTUTE PERSON AND THAT IN A PERSONAL SETTING SUCH AS HIS TALKS WITH THE CHANCELLOR HE WAS MUCH MORE LIVELY AND FORTHCOMING THAN EXPECTED. HE THOUGHT KADAR WAS REMARKABLY RELAXED BOTH WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST PROBLEMS AND WITH REGARD TO THIS OWN INTERNAL SITUATION.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PGOV, PINT, HU, GE, (KADAR, JANOS)  
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